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AUTHOR Gray, Cindelyn
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ABSTRACT

There is some question as to the fairness with which history has treated women psychologists who were distinguished in their own time. Only women who were prominent in the field of psychology at least 50 years ago were selected in order to give the history books the best possible chance to include them. The five women thus located were paired with five male contemporaries: specifically Mary Whiton Calkins, June Etta Downey, Leta Stetter Hollingworth, Christine Ladd-Franklin, and Margaret Floy Washburn were matched with Edmund Clarke Sanford, Warner Brown, Walter Fenno Dearborn, Edward Wheeler Scripture, and Walter Bowers Pillsbury, respectively. Analyses and comparisons of published books and articles, editorships, professional association memberships, honorary degrees, citations, awards, and coverage in psychological histories suggest that women, even prominent ones, are not accorded much respect by historical writers. Results suggest that modern historians of psychology could be suspected of elitism, chauvinism, and some lapses in scholarship. (Author/HLM)

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HISTORICAL TREATMENT OF FEMALE PSYCHOLOGISTS OF DISTINCTION

CINDELYN GRAY UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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How has history treated women psychologists who were distinguished in their own time?

To answer that question we[1] selected five women who were prominent in the affairs of psychology at least 50 years ago. This hiatus seemed necessary to give history books the best possible occasion to include the subjects, since events of the immediate past half century are usually not regarded as "safe" history. The five women selected had all made their contributions by 1929.

They were Mary Whiton Calkins (1863-1930), June Etta Downey (1875-1932), Leta Stetter Hollingworth (1886-1939), Christine Ladd-Franklin, (1847-1930) and Margaret Floy Washburn (1871-1939). Annin, Boring, and Watson included all five in their list of important psychologists. The women were all in Watson's Eminent Contributors to Psychology and in Zusne's Names in the History of Psychology. Ladd-Franklin, Calkins and Washburn were in Cattell's 1903 list of fifty American psychologists of distinction. For his additional list in 1926, Cattell selected Downey. Although Hollingworth is missing from Cattell's lists we judged her to be next in the order of distinguished females of that era.

Five men were picked as matches for the five women. These men were contemporaries of the women and were of comparable distinction. Using

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[1] This paper evolved from a conversation with Dr. Philip H. Gray, Professor of Psychology, Montana State U., Bozeman, Mt., and I gratefully acknowledge his criticisms and suggestions in the writing of it.

the ratings of Cattell and Annin, Boring, and Watson we paired Margaret Washburn with Walter Bowers Pillsbury, Mary Calkins with Edmund Clark Sanford, Christine Ladd-Franklin with Edward Wheeler Scripture and June Downey with Warner Brown. Cattell didn't include Leta Hollingworth in his distinction lists so we paired her with Walter Fenno Dearborn strictly by the Annin, Boring, and Watson rating.

In order to assess historians' coverage of these women psychologists we should have some idea of their achievements. Table 2 gives a summary of the psychology books and articles written, editorships held, and organizations to which these Subjects belonged. Most served in editorial capacities for major journals, although it appears that Calkins and Brown did not. Note that two of the women, Calkins and Washburn, and their counterparts, Sanford and Pillsbury, served as APA presidents. A number of the Subjects were Fellows of organizations and four belonged to prestigious groups, such as the National Academy of Science and the Society of Experimental Psychologists. Women could not join the latter group until after Titchener's death in 1927, because he opposed female members.

The women all compare favorably with their male matches. Therefore, we would expect the females to be treated like their male counterparts by their peers and by posterity.

Recognition of the contributions of these ten psychologists can be seen in the awarding of honorary degrees, mention in national and scientific biographies, citations by fellow scientists, ratings by peers like Cattell and Annin, Boring, and Watson, and finally by the amount of coverage in psychological histories. Table 3 presents this information which indicates peer and posterity acknowledgement of success.

Seven of the ten psychologists received honorary degrees, usually from their alma maters or from the institutions where they taught. The major national biographies were searched with the results recorded in Table 3. Ladd-Franklin and Pillsbury appear in World Who's Who in Science, which lists all notable scientists in history. Only Hollingworth was not a starred scientist in Cattell's American Men of Science. All the women were found in Notable American Women and Who Was Who in America. The science citations from 1961 to 1978 show Washburn leading with 98 and Ladd-Franklin bringing up the rear with 20. Although Hollingworth was not considered a major psychologist by Cattell she has a respectable 40 citations, not far from Scripture's 46. The points in Table 3 are derived from the survey of history of psychology books. Table 1 provides a list of the books searched. The latest editions of the following were used: Boring, Chaplin and Krawiec, Esper, Flugel, Heidbreder, Kantor, Klein, Marx and Hillix, Miller, Misiak and Sexton, Murphy and Kovach, Roback (two by Roback), Robinson, Schultz, Thomson, Watson, Wertheimer, Wolman and Woodworth and Sheehan. In the book search, each line or partial line discussing one of the Subjects counted as one point while incidental mentions or references to the Subject's publications counted as a half point.

The results suggest that women, even prominent ones, are not accorded much respect by the writers of psychology histories. The five females received a total of 174 points, compared with a total of 515 points for the five males. The citations compiled by SCI are less biased. The females had 216 citations and the males had 261. The females wrote 485 articles, the males 424. The males published almost twice as many books; 28 compared to 19 for the females. The sex difference in publications and citations is

small but the point difference in historical coverage is extremely large. A closer look at individual author coverage will attest to certain historians' sex discrimination or perhaps to their weak scholarship.

Twenty history books were searched. Out of that twenty, three authors failed to mention any of the ten psychologists in this study. Those three were Miller, Schultz and Wolman. Six other historians omit all of the female psychologists under study. Those six were Chaplin and Krawiec 3rd edition, Thomson, Robinson, Kantor, Esper, and Roback (1961). None of the twenty mentioned all five women, but nine authors discussed at least one of our five women in their histories. But we'll see how comprehensive their coverage really was in the following summary.

Mary Whiton Calkins, who should be remembered for her pioneering studies of paired-associate learning, receives a total of 115 points, but 83 of these came from Woodworth and Sheehan, mostly for Calkins' metaphysical views of the conscious self. Only one sentence in Woodworth and Sheehan is devoted to the work on paired-associates. Although Sheehan is a woman, she did not add any additional coverage of psychologists of her sex because the Calkins information is contained in Woodworth's earlier editions. Murphy and Kovach discuss her association research at length and Flugel mentions that Müller and Pilzecker took over her method of paired-associates. Misiak and Sexton report her founding of the laboratory at Wellsley in 1891, which was the first psychological lab at a women's college. Boring incidentally mentions her as being on Cattell's list of the 50 leading psychologists of 1903. Watson and Wertheimer list her as one of James' students. Roback's (1964) account of Calkins' contributions is scanty, since his

principal reference to her consists of a quote from her autobiography in which she describes her teacher, Hugo Münsterberg. One would have to read all eleven of these histories in order to get information about the first woman president of APA, and the first woman elected as president of the American Philosophical Association. Her SCI is 24; her counterpart's is 27.

June Etta Downey, once famous for her research in the psychology of handwriting and well known for her popularizations of psychology, is scarcely remembered. Boring recalls her career in two lines. Misiak and Sexton and Roback (1964) briefly mention her Will-Temperament Test. None of the other histories refer to her. However, she is not forgotten by other scientists, since she has an SCI of 34, a few more than Calkins has.

Leta Stetter Hollingworth, referred to only by Misiak and Sexton and Murphy and Kovach, did extensive work with gifted children. She also played a leading role in the founding of the American Association of Clinical Psychologists. Misiak and Sexton are the only historians who mention that contribution. Her SCI is 40. Obviously, not everyone has forgotten her.

Christine Ladd-Franklin received her PhD in mathematics and was once known as America's leading woman scientist. Wertheimer refers to her report on foveal night-blindness at the third meeting of the American Psychological Association. Boring is even briefer. Ironically, the second edition of Chaplin and Krawiec gave Ladd-Franklin the courtesy of 12 lines describing her visual research, but the third edition neglects all five of the women. Roback's (1964) reference to her isn't in his index. No other psychology historians talk of her, although she is known to philosophy majors for her work in logic. She has an SCI of 20 and is listed in

all the major biographies of eminence.

Margaret Washburn, second woman elected to the National Academy of Science and president of APA when Boring was secretary-treasurer, is a forgotten psychologist. Yet in 1927 her colleagues thought enough of her to publish an entire 442 pages of the American Journal of Psychology in her honor. The Washburn Commemorative Volume was edited by Boring, Dallenbach, and Bentley. But Boring gives her five incidental mentions. Flugel refers to her popular book on animal psychology, which was the first animal text written by an American. Wertheimer is more forthcoming; he refers to her as the first of Titchener's doctoral students and the author of Animal Mind and mentions how it influenced Carr and Hunter and the latter's delayed-reaction research. Marx and Hillix do almost as much. Woodworth and Sheehan and Heidbreder have incidental mentions. Murphy and Kovach credit her with 18 lines on her motor theory. But if historians think she is not worth writing about, other psychologists think differently, for she has an SCI of 98.

These five women devoted their lives to academia and to psychology. Only Ladd-Franklin had children. She and Hollingworth were the only two who ever married. It may be that the early deaths of Downey at 57 and Hollingworth at 53 curtailed their placement in history. But Ladd-Franklin died at 83 and she, too, is denied coverage in histories.

It seems that our modern historians of psychology could be suspected of elitism, chauvanism and some lapses in scholarship. It is perhaps a commentary on our field when one can learn more about a psychologist's life work from national biographies and obituaries than from reading our histories of psychology.

TABLE I

LIST OF PSYCHOLOGICAL HISTORIES SEARCHED

Boring, E.G. A history of experimental psychology. 1950.

Chaplin, J.P. & Krawiec, T.S. Systems and theories of psychology. 1974.

Esper, E.A. A history of psychology. 1964.

Flugel, J.C. A hundred years of psychology. 1951.

Heidbreder, E. Seven psychologies. 1933.

Kantor, J.R. The scientific evolution of psychology. 2 vols. 1963.

Klein, D.B. A history of scientific psychology. 1970.

Marx, M.H. & Hillix, W.A. Systems and theories in psychology. 1973.

Miller, G.A. Psychology the science of mental life. 1962.

Misiak, H. & Sexton, V.S. History of psychology. 1966.

Murphy, G. & Kovach, J.K. Historical introduction to modern psychology. 1972.

Roback, A.A. History of American psychology. 1964.

Roback, A.A. History of psychology and psychiatry. 1961.

Robinson, D.N. An intellectual history of psychology. 1976.

Schultz, D.P. A history of modern psychology. 1969.

Thomson, R. The pelican history of psychology. 1968.

Watson, R.I. The great psychologists from Aristotle to Freud. 1963.

Wertheimer, M. A brief history of psychology. 1970.

Wolman, B.B. Contemporary theories and systems in psychology. 1960.

Woodworth, R.S. & Sheehan, M.R. Contemporary schools of psychology. 1964.

TABLE 2

NAME	BOOKS	ARTICLES	EDITORSHIPS	ORGANIZATIONS
JUNE ETTA DOWNEY	5	76	J. of Applied Psy. coop. ed.; Ed. Meas. Rev. contri. ed.; Character & Person. ed. staff.	Society of Experimental Psy. charter mem. APA Council of Directors 1923-25 National Research Council 1924-26 Sigma Xi AAAS Fellow Phi Kappa Phi Colorado-Wyoming Academy of Science
WARNER BROWN	1	30		APA AAAS Society of Experimental Psy. charter mem.
CHRISTINE LADD-FRANKLIN	1	66	Baldwin's Dict. of Phil. & Psy. assoc. ed. 1901-1905.	APA AAAS Fellow American Philosophical Ass. Optical Society of America
EDWARD WHEELER SCRIPTURE	8	225	Am. J. of Psy. ass. ed. 1891-92; Studies from the Yale Lab. ed. 1892-1903; Zeit. fur.Exp. phon. ed. 1930.	APA cofounder 1892 AAAS Fellow, sec. section psy. 1899 Washington Academy Society International Int. Soc. Experimental Phonetics pres. 1928-32
LETA STETTER HOLLINGWORTH	8	75	J. of Applied Psy. coop. ed. ? -1939; J. of Genetic Psy. assoc. ed. 1927- ?; Genetic Psy. Mono. assoc. ed. 1927- ?	National Education Ass. American Ass. of Clinical Psy. cofounder 1917
WALTER FENNO DEARBORN	7	60	Harvard Mono. in Ed. ed. 1921-27.	Council of APA 1918-20 American Academy of Arts and Science Fellow AAAS Massachusetts Medical Society assoc. Fellow Hon. mem. Hungarian Society of Education

TABLE 3
RECOGNITION BY POSTERITY AND PEERS

NAME	HONORARY DEGREES	BIOGRAPHIES	CIT[1]	RATING[2]	RATING[3]	PTS[4]	PCT[5]
MARY WHITON CALKINS	LLD, Smith 1910 Litt D, Columbia 1909	Nat. Cy. Am. Bio. *Am. Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am. Dict. of Am. Bio. Cy. of Am. Bio. New C. C. of Names Not. Am. Women	24	1903	20	115.5	50
EDMUND CLARK SANFORD	LLD, U. of Ca. 1912; LLD, Clark 1924 Hon. deg., Hobart 1909	Nat. Cy. Am. Bio. *Am. Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am. Dict. of Am. Bio. New C. C. of Names	27	1903	20	71.5	30
MARGARET FLOY WASHBURN	DSC Wittenberg	Nat. Cy. Am. Bio. *Am. Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am. Dict. of Am. Bio. Int. En. Soc. Sci. Not. Am. Women	98	1903	23	49.0	45
WALTER BOWERS PILLSBURY	LLD, U. of Nebraska 1933	Nat. Cy. Am. Bio. *Am. Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am. New C. C. of Names World Who's Who in Sci.	64	1903	21	49.5	40
LETA STETTER HOLLINGWORTH	Hon. deg., U. of Nebraska 1938	Am. Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am. Dict. of Am. Bio. New C. C. of Names Not. Am. Women	40		12	2.5	10
WALTER FENNO DEARBORN	Am, Harvard 1941	*Am Men of Sci. Who Was Who in Am.	55	1920	12	6.0	15